RED AND BLACK
an anarchist journal

Ika Indians working communally in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. 'Y. Campos

RED AND BLACK

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19 85

CONTENT.

Scylla and Charybdis.....p.3
J.Grancharoff

The Failure of State Communism.....p.5
R.Rocker.

An Anarchist Critique of Trotsky and Trotskysm.....p.14
G. Hill.

The Indians.....p.21
Ruben Prieto

Communism.....p.47

Editor: J.Grancharoff
P.O. Box 115,
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Make all cheques out to:
J. Grancharoff.

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INTRODUCTION

Scylla and Charybdis is a short pessimistic outline of human struggle for liberation which never transcends the dominance of the ideological boundaries established by the super powers. The spirit of human emancipation moves in vicious circles that of communism or democracy, neither of which is democratic nor communistic. While the base of Scylla and Charybdis are force and violence, the most important component of their strength lays in the voluntary servile state of its subjects. Unless we transcend it,we are condemned to perpetual slavery with freedom as an illusion.

For Rocker the failure of state socialism is due to its bourgeois origin- the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latter excludes the idea of the soviets-the councils. The authentic soviets are social revolution in becoming.

The capturing of government by professional revolutionaries, an elite, is a concept of the Radical bourgeoisie. It has nothing to do with socialism qua socialism, less so be identified with the working class. Itis pure Jacobinism. The Soviet Communism is a hybrid that has emptied the content of the soviets while upholding the Jacobin notion of government.

Gary Hill dismantles the Trotsky's myth and put the latter in real perspective, It is useless to argue that the degeneration of the Russian Revoluti-on was due to Stalin's personal make up or to his Asiatic model of seeing, looking and doing. On the contrary, it was Trotsky, paradoxically as it might sound, who had laid the foundation of Stalinism. Stalin was his logical continuator. Trotsky put into operation the Machiavellian machine, Stalin used it.

Indianism is essentially a cosmogony of the modern world, modern in the sense that it is based on ecological balance. Humans, air, fauna and flora ought to live in harmony, if the ecological destruction is to be avoided.

The Western culture is rejected because it is divisive, exploitative, destructive and rapacious, and does not allow real alternatives (not marginal experiments) and also possibility for authentic human relationship.

For Indians, revolution implies recapturing of what had been lost: the authentic peasants and workers language of communication, and traditions which allow human direct participation, creating the anti-hierarchical model of production and distribution.

While the language of Tcherkesoff is antiquated, his writings are, nonetheless, important contributin to the history of socialism.

SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS

Scylla, the six headed monster, had seized and wrecked all vessels which tried to go beyond its abode and,if it failed, the whirlpool of another monster, Charybdis, would finish them. So to escape the risk of the one was to fall into the clutches of the other. Today Scylla and Charybdis are the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Nobody is alowed to bypass them and everybody is to accept either one's or the other's dictates: Poland or Nicaragua, Afganistan or Granada, not to mention others. These political giants, these zealots and watchodogs of socialist and multi-national capitalism are death-knell of humanity with their arsenal of destruction. Unlike Scylla and Charybd-is they are not myths but realities. They divide, rule, exploit and dominate as if they have a mandate to be merchants of death. They, the rocks of privileges, lure to disaster every rebellion or devour it by sheer strength. A fight for freedom, emancipation, liberation, social justice and equality, seems a futile exercise and sacrifice against these colossi of established order, values, morality and wisdom. It seems that the destiny of humanity is sealed for ever. There is no exhit! Or is there?

For too long we are seduced by their myths and our political thinking as well as action not only do not transcend these two monsters but reinforce them.

The avant-guard of the proletariat are dialectically anti-proletarian because they use their knowledge not to illuminate and raise proletarian consciousness, as they purport to do, but to manipulate, dominate and subjugate those they mean to liberate. Their dogmas and doctrines, their servile admireres and followers, the workers armies they build, are ways and means of capturing power and privileges. Their activism consist in establishing their oown kingdom.

To raise consciousness in the real world implies to give consciousness to a class that lacks one. In that way one ensures that the revolutionary zest ends in a debacle and the new power of the socialist mandarines is established without much resistance, since given consciousness is a deception while it last and an impotence when stripped from its ideological content. It emaciates the masses to such an extent that they cannot see the new chains of oppression forged for them with their unconsciouss co-operation. No wonder that successful revolutions are outright reactionary, bloody and authoritarian. The intelligence of the avant-garde vested with authority, with political and a social privileges is the most brutal oppression and favours, Scylla the U.S.S.R rather than the proletariat and the peasantry it supposed to represent.

The Marxist revolutionaries of today, epigones of great minds, whom they try to fossilize into monuments and transform into sources of veneration, are doing that , as a tactics, to divert the masses from issues which are important for their material and spiritual welbing, and, at the same time, to prevent them from transcending the modern socialist Scylla. The task of the proletariat is not to build monuments but to destroy them, not enact rituals but to practice athe-ism. The proletariat does not need pyramids, churches and Gods. Its function ought to be to level hierarchies and get rid of the patriarchy. Only then the proletariat can regain its consciousness and dig the grave of the avant-garde and its commissars rather than its own grave as it has done until now.

On the other side, the Chaybdis- the U.S.A.,try to extend the whirlpool not only to Nicaragua, El Salvador and all over the world but to the sky with star wars. The tragic is that some of the victims and the blood thirsty mob sing hosanna and applaud the new fundamentalist Christian monster, the prophet of doom, who by hell fire and brimstones, bullets and bombs, perishing(pershing) or not perishing missiles will bring love and peace to us at the battle of Armageddon, where only a few will be chosen and more will be dead. His Aryan predecessor - Hitler, promised us thousands years of peace with the victory of the Third Reich. It meant a world without communists, jews, gypsis, slavs and other trouble-makers. The holocaust was its outcome. Today, the crusade against communism, the Charybdis' imperialistic nationalism to eliminate all that is socialism, for peace and democracy, is but the rationalization of Charybdis' brute force for world dominance and militarization of society.Unlike the Nazi holocaust, the holocaust of "desaparecidos", the victims of the death squads and genocides do not lacerate our consciousness anylonger. Even Israel is hielping and promoting holocausts here and there. Brotherly love is a cover for hate. One loves his enemy by killing him. To eulogize the U.S.A. as a paradigm case of liberal democracy and yet to fail to see the face of Charybdis which is threatening with annihilation our existance, is left to sychophantys, not to a free consciousness.

It may be said that the intellectual elite, qua elite, is in the service of either Scylla or Charybdis, The alternatives it puts forwards are schemes within the shadow of these two collosi. Often they are schemes of sclerotic minds where intellectual pursuit is equated with servility. Slogans,, dogmas and myths are substituted for thinking. Government terrorism is exalted either as a socialist or democratic weapon in dealing with social problems. Violence is decreed to be the logic of existence.

Emotionally the hearts are contaminated with class diseases. Males suffer from machoism and chauvinism while females from Amazonian fascism, while females from
Libido is transformed into death energy of self-destruction or the destraction of the others. Love is turned into an unabating hate. Love-making - into a class struggle without quarters where both male and female armies are ready for the final decisive blow, another Armageddon.

The quest for happiness is at the mercy of zodias and stars. Mysticism is becoming a process of individuation. Separation is complete. Thus alienation, atomization and isolation are the only flowers left in a world which is crippled emotionally and intellectually. The liberated individual and free societies are mirages that populate the desert of our life. Human contact, communality and warmth belong to the realm of ideas, to the paradise llost.

It seems that the strength of Scylla and Charybdis, despite their naked force, depends also to our open, tacit or unconscious co-operation. This voluntary servitude makes it quite impossible to opt out from the death-trap of these gigantic powers.

Yet, the libertarian spark and the zest for freedom are not dead yet. There lies the future hopes of human liberation. The hopes that Scylla andCharybdis would be transcended and the world be save from barbarism. A hope!

THE FAILURE OF STATE COMMUNISM

Chapter VI

The Origin and meaning of the Councils.

(continuation from the previous ussue)

It is, nontheless, erroneous to assume that only a few individuals are responsible for these shameful events. They are responsible to the extent they are regarded as representatives of a given ideology. In fact, the causes of these tragic phenomena are deep-rooted; they are consequences of a system which cannot lead to any other state of affairs.

If,until now, we fail to understand this, it is due, mainly, to the fact that in considering the Russian Revolution, we try to unite two different ideas: the constructive idea of the councils and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, there is an essential contradiction between the two, even if their forced union has given origin to a monstrosity, the Bolshevik commissariocracy; so fatal to the Russian Revolution. What else can it leads to when, departing from a totally different presuposition, the system of the councils in no way supports dictatorship. In it is embodied the will of the base, the creative energy of the people, while the dictatorship is based on coercion from above and blind submission to a souless schemes of rules: one excludes the other. It is the dictatorship which has been introduced to Russia. Hence, today, there are no soviets in that country. What exists in Russia is a ridiculous and comic product, a cruel caricature of the idea of soviets.

The idea of the councils which envelops all constructive aspects of socialism is the most exact expression of what is understood by social revolution. On the other hand, the idea of the dictatorship is bourgeois in origin and has nothing in common with socialism. The former is not anew idea at all, as many think, transmitted to us by the Russian Revolution. It had developed in the bosum of the most advance workers' movements in Europe, at time when the organized working class was ready to cast off the last influences of bourgeois radicalism and to fend for itself; namely, when the International Workingman's Association made the great attempt to unite the proletariat of various countries, to prepare it and bring about its liberation from wage slavery.

The First International and The Idea of Dictatorship

Although the International had features of a big syndicalist organization, its statutes were drafted in a way to incorporate all socialist tendencies at the time as far as they were in agreement with the final aim of the Association. Thus the clarity of concepts and the precision in expression of ideas left much to be desired, as could have been noticed at the Geneve (1866) and Lousanne (1867) congresses. But as the International matured and affirmed itself as a militant organization the concepts of its adherants became more clarified. The practical participation in every day struggle between capitalism and work led, naturally, to a deeper understanding of social problem

At the Congress of Bale in 1869, the internal evolution of the great union of workers attained its intelletual apogee. In addition to the question of land and landed property, it ws above all the question of syndicates which created the greatest interest. In the report to the delegates by Hins and his friends, the question of syndicalist organization, its proper task and meaning was for the first time dealt with from a completely new point of view even if it had appeared to resemble the ideas of Robert Owen who, in the thirties of the last century founded his "Grand National Consolidated Trades Unions". It was, clearly and without ambiguity stated that the syndicates were not simply provisional organs (within capitalist society) and were going to disappear with it. The point of view of state-socialists, according to whom the syndicalist activity could not go beyond the limited struggle of improving the conditions of work within the frame of the wage system, underwent a significant alteration. Hins' and his Belgian comrades' report said in fact that economic militant organizations of the workers had to be considered as cells of the future socialist society and it was the duty of the International to form syndicats corresponding to suh aims. It was in this sense that the following resolution was adopted:

"The Congress declares that all workers ought to create bodies of resistance within all industries. As soon as a syndicate is created, the trade-union in question should be informed in order to pursue the formation of national unions of industries. These unions will collect materials concerning their industry, discuss what measures in common could be taken and to work towards their realization in order to replace the atual wage system by a federation of free producers.

The General Council is authorized by the Congress to organize the relationships among sindicates in the various countries."

Stating the motive of the commission's decision, Hins declared that "In this twofold form of organization: the local unions of workers and the General Unions of Industries will be born, on one hand, the political administration of the communes and, on the other, the general representation of labour on district, national and international leels. The councils of trade and industry organizations will replace the actual government, and thus representation of labour will, once for ever, replace the old political systems of the past."

This fertile new idea was born from the understanding that to each new economic form of social organization corresponded equally a new political form of organization. More than that, the former could be realized within the frame of the latter. Therefore, socialism had to look for its own form of expression, and they thought they found it in the system of workers's councils.

The workers in the Latin countries, where the bulk of the International's supporters came from, developed their movements on the ground of militant economic organization and socialist propaganda groups in accordance with the decisions took at the Congress of Bale. Seeing in the state the political agent and the deffender of the propertied classes, they had not considered capturing political power but suppressing it in all its forms and eliminating the State because they had instinctively seen in it the basis of all tyranies and exploitation. Thus, they never dreamt to limit the power of the bourgeoisie and form a new political power and open the door to a new class of politicians by trade, Their aim was to conquer the place of work,the land and the soil, and they understood quite well that this aim had drastically separated them from the politics of the radical bourgeoisie, which was completely immersed in capturing governmental power. They understood that the monopoly of power ought to fall at the same time as property and that the totality of social life ought to be built on new base. Acknowledging that the domination of man by man had its time they tried to familirized themselves with the idea of the administration of things.

Therefore, in opposition to the statist politics of parties they put forward the economic politics of labour. They understood that it was at the work place and in the industry that a re-organization of society in a socialistic sense was to be undertaken. It was from the assimilation of these ideas that the councils were born. In meetings, periodicals and pamphlets of the libertarian wingof the International, around Bakunin and his friends, these ideas had found clarification and depth. More specifically, in a clear manner, they were developed by the congresses of the Spanish Federation where the terms "Communes" and "councils of work" had appeared.

The opposing concepts of Marx-Engels and Bakunin.

The libertarian section of the International understood quite well that socialism could not be authorized by any government. On the contrary, it had to develop organically from the base to the top, within the bosom of the working masses and that the workers themselves had to take in their own hands the administration, the production and the distribution. It was tthis idea that they opposed to the state socialism of the socialist parties'

politicians. It was these inner contradictions between centralism and federalism the two opposite concepts, the opposition to the role of the State as a transitional factor towards socialism,that constituted the central point of the quarrel between, on one side, Bakunin and his friends and, on the other, Marx and the General council of London, which had to end in dividing the great Union of the workers. It was not a personal issue, even if Marx and Egnels mostly employed odious personal tactics against Bakuninists, but an issue of two different views of socialism or, more precisely, two different approaches to socialism. Marx and Bakunin just happened to be the two most eminent representatives in this struggle which was going to erupt just the same. Therefore, it ws not so much an issue of two opposing men or a question of expulsion, but an issue of two opposite ideas which had and are having their importance even today.

During the cruel persecution of the movement in the Latin Countries, beginning with France after the defeat of the Paris Commune and extending to Spain and Italy the following years, the ideas of the councils, due to the circumstances, had ocupied a second place. All political propaganda was proscribed forcing the workers to concentrate mostly their eforts in defending their illegal groups against the reaction and helping the victims of it. Howeverthe idea regained its impetus with the development of revolutionary syndicalism. It was during this period of development of French syndicalism from 1900-1907 that the idea of the councils was clarified, made precise and developed. A glance over the works by Pelloutier, Pouget, Griffuelhes, Monatte, Yvetot and many others (Ido not like to mention the theoreticians, such as Lagardelle who never actively participated in the praxis of the movement) is a sufficient proof that in Russia or any other country the concept of the council system was not enriched with any new idea which had not been stated previously by revolutionary syndicalism during its 15-20 years of development.

At the time nobody in the camp of the socialist workers' parties wanted to know of this system. The great majority of those, mainly in Germany, who pretend to be supporters of the council system today, were then looking at this "later incarnation of Utopia" with scorn and contempt. The Bolsheviks were not an exception either. If today one is obliged to respect the libertarian socialist ideas and the councils' syndicalism, it is only an important sign of the time and a new point of departure of the international workers movement. Thus utopia is more authentic than science.

The idea of the dictatorship is a bourgeois heritage.

The idea of councils, as a matter of fact, was a natural product of libertarian socialism. It had developed in the bosom of the revolutionary movem ent of the workers in opposition to all tradition of Bourgeois ideology and statist concept. This is not the case of the idea of dictatorship.

The idea of the dictatorship did not originated with the idea of socialism. Far from being a product of workers' movements, it is a fatal bourgeois

heritage purpoting to be beneficial to the proletariat. It is closely related to the capturing of political power, also a part of the bourgeois political parties.

Dictatorship is a special form of state power, namely, the state is governed by the state of siege. The supporters of dictatorship start from the prejudice that one can, from above, dictate to and impose on the people what is supposed to be "good" for them and what is a temporarily necessary. This prejudice itself, makes of the dictatorship the major obstacle to the social revolution, since its vital elements are direct initiative and constructive mass partecipation. Dictatorship is the negation of organic becoming, of natural construction from botom to the top, it is affirmation that people are minors and the masses ought to be under the tutellage of a small violent minoirity. Its supporters, even if, animated by best intentions will, by the logic of the thing be forced into the most despotic extremism.

Bakunin had perceived this when ge wrote:

"The main reason why the state revolutionary authorities all over the world had done so little to advance the revolution, was to be found in the fact that they had done it by their own authority and power. Thus they obtained two results: In the first place, they were forced to limit extreme revolutionary action because even the most intelligent, the most energetic and the most sincere among them found impossible to embrace, in a glance, all problems and interests;because every dictatorship be it of an individual or of a revolutionary committee, by its own virtue, is limited and blindly unable either to penetrate in depth into people's lives or to grasp it in all its extensions, as a ship cannot embrace the width and depth of the sea. In the second place all actions imposed upon people by an official power and by laws from above awake in the masses a sentiment of indignation and reaction.

The Lessons of the French Revolution.

The tireless denigration of all socialist tendencies as "petty bourgois" by Lenin and his followers is a straightforwardly commic because it comes from people who are, and remain, plunged up to their heads hopelessly in the political ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. For example our statist socialists have borrowed the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat from the petty bourgeois Jacobin Party, the same party which had considered any strike as a crime and forbid all syndicalist organizations by death penalities. Saint Juste and Couthon were its most outspoken representatives, while Robespierre initially rejected the idea but later on accepted it under their influence and by the fear that Brissot might have become a dictator. Marat himself flirted with the idea of dictatorship even if he clearly saw the danger of it and consequently asked for a dictator "with a fetlock on his feet".

The unilateral and false representation of the French Revolution by radical bourgois historians has had a strong influence on the majority of socialists and greatly contributed to confer to the "the dictatorship of the Jac-

obins" a halo which,furthermone, has been reinforced by the execution of its main leaders. The majority of men, in fact, tend to be trapped in the cult of martyres, which make them incapable of criticising persones and their aacts. Louis Blanc, more than anyone else, with his extensive History of the Revolution, without any critical spirit, has contributed to the glorification of Jacobinism.

With the great revolutionary conquests: the abolition of the feudal system and the absolute monarchy which most hostoriens presented as an act of the Jacobins and The Revolutionary Convention, the false historical concept of the Revolution was born. Today, we know that the general descriptions of the Great Revolution are based on a complete misknowledge of historical facts; that the real and lasting conquests were uniquely achievements of peasant and proletarian revolts of towns against the will of the National Assembly and the Convention. The Jacobins and the Convention, in a very energetic manner, had always opposed the radical innovation until they were faced with the accomplished facts. Thus the abolition of the feudal system was due only to the uninterrupted upheavals of the peasants, which the political parties had outlawed and vigorously persecuted. Even if in 1792 The National Assembly confirmed the feudal system, it only sanctioned the abolition of feudal rights in 1793 when the peasants, with struggle, had attained tyheir own rights. The same was true of the abolition of the monarchy.

The first founders of a po;ular socialist movement in France came from the Jacobin camp and it was natural that some impact would be left by it. By founding the "Conspiracy of the Equals" , Babeuf, Darthe, Buonarotti and others proposed to transform France to an agrarian communist state by a revolutionary dictatorship. As communists they realized that the ideas of the Great Revolution, as they had understood them, were to be materialized when the economic question found its soution. But as Jacobins they believed that the aim could not be achieved unless the government was to be given extraordinary power. The belief in the omnipotence of the state, of which Jaconinism was the extreme form, became too personal to them to perceive any other form.

Babeuf and his comrades died for their convictions, but their ideas had remained alive among the people and under Louis Philippe found shelter in the secret Babouvist societies. Men such as Barbes and Blanqui worked i n this direction and looked forward to establish a "proletarian dictatorship" as a means to realize their statist communism.

The ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat as formulated in the "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels was borrowed from them. By the above concept they understood the establishment of a strong central power which would, by coercion and radical laws, break definitly the domination of the bourgoisie and, at the same time, prepare and accomplish social transformation in a socialist sense.

Marx and Engels, who from the camp of the bourgeois democracy passed to socialist one, were deeply impregnated with Jacobin traditions. Besides,

the socialist movement at the time was not sufficiently developed (with aan exception of Proudhon and his friends) to find its own way. It remained more or less, dependent on bourgeois traditions. Only with the development of the workers' movement at the time of the International the moment had arrived for the socialists to cast aside the ties binding them to these traditions and to become completely independent of them.

The Conquest or the Distruction of the State.

The idea of the councils transcends the idea of the State and power politics in whatever forms the later appear to be. As such it is negation of all dictatorships which are not only preserving all tools of the power of of class domination, the State, but are aspiring to developits power to maximum.

The pioneers of council system have quite well understood that the domination of man by man and the exploitation of man by man ought to disappear simultaneously. Also, they understood that the State, the incarnation of the organized violence of the owner class, could never be transformed into an instrument of liberation. Consequently, they were of oppinion that the destruction of the old state apparatus was to constitute the principal task of the social revolution and thus make impossible new forms of exploitation. At the famous congress at Haye 1872, the spoke-person of the federalist minority, James Guillaume, clearly expressed this idea by opposing to the capturing of state power, the necessityto destroy it totally.

The objection is that beause the dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific case, a class issue, it cannot be compared to anyother dictatorships. This sophisticated interpretation is a subtle means to deceivethe simpletons of what the real issues are about. A class dictatorship is absolutely unthinkable because, granted all things, it is, in fact, a dictatorship of a party which pretends to talk in the name of a class, as the bourgeoisie used to justify its most despotic acts "in the name of the people".

Precisely in the bosom of parties which, for the first time have acces to power, the infalibility of the individual is particularly accentuated and with fatal consequences. As a general rule the power parvenues are much more obnoxious and dangerous than those of the rich.

On this point Russia is a model example. It is not anylonger an issue of the dictatorship of a party but, more or less, a dictatorship of a handful of men upon which the party has no influence whatsoever, The greater majority of the Russian people are hostile to the domination of this oligarchy, which for long time since has lost all its influence among the majority of tthe working class. If the Russian workers -here I omit the peasants because their hostility towards the Soviet Government is generall known - were in a position to elect freely their soviets, the kingdom of the Bolsheviks in all its totality would collapse as a paper castle in a few hours. InRussia

today, it is not the will of a class which expresses itself in the famous "dictatorship of the proletariat", but simply the force of the bayonnettes. Under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" Russia has been transformed to an immense prison, when any trace of freedom is systematically obliterated without any approximation to the initial aims of the Revolution. On the contrary, one is futher from freedom, and to the degree to which the power of the new aristocracy increases, the popular revolutionaryinitiative decreases. Today a point has been reached to renounce the aim of 1917 definitely and to pass over to the capitalist camp with all arms and belongings. To conceal the great retreat everything is done behind some sort of dialectical finesse. Is there a defeated general who does not do that? But any flattering sophisticated contrivances of Lenin and Radek are not in a position to hide the most simple facts today. The famous "dictatorship of the proletariat" has not only made of the Russian workers the most enslaved of the slaves but it also opens the road to a new domination of the bourgeoisie.

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WHOSE REVOLUTION BETRAYED, TROTSKY?

AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF TROTSKY AND TROTSKYSM

Chapter IV
(Continuation from the previous issue)

In 1920 Trotsky was at the zenith of his power. In the late autumn of that year he returned to Moscow and Petrograd to receive a hero's welcome. His Red Armies had just crushed Wrangels' white guard force in the Crimea and chased Kolchak's disintegrating forces all the way from the Urals to Vladivistok. On the Polish front his armies were advancing to Warsaw. Except for the Japanese, most of the fourteen foreign armies had left the conflict. The British and French both aided the Poles with officers and equipment and the independent Georgian Republic was propped up with their contingents of troops, but this was only continuation of what had been the allied interventionist forces.

Although the civil war still raged west of the Urals, in the Cossack homelands, the Ukraine and on the Polish order, the Bolsheviks had a firm grip on the rest of European Russia, an area larger than all of Western Europe and one which was rich in material resoures, highly industrialized and high in population. By holding this area the Bolsheviks had won. The continuing wars in the outer provines of the old Russian Empire were isolated and so could be snuffed out one by one.

Trotsky, as the founder and leader of the Red Army, was hailed as "the architect of victory" by many. His name was associaed with many victories: Snyazshk, Kazan and Simbirsk and the seige of Petrograd in October 1919. This latterb attle was almost solely Trotsky's achievement. Even Lenin suggersted the city be evacuated from the approaching white guard and British forces. Trotsky arrived to find wholescale desertion and inactivity from the top levels to the lowest ranks. With incredible energy and courage he organized the city defences and threw the rightists into retreat by a series of quick unexpected counter attacks which he often lead personally. He was acclaimed as the saviour of Petrograd. It was generally considered that if the city had fallen, Moscow could not have held out for long and so the civil war would have been won by the whites.

Lenin had complete trust in him. In his will he mentioned his "outstanding ability" and described him as the "personally perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee"(1).

He was the only Bolshevik to be given a blank order cheque by Lenin. Apparently tired of saving his commissars Lenin responded to Stalin's and Zinoviev complaining about Trotsky's execution of an officer and a commissar for unauthorized troop movements by issuing the following note: "Comrades: Knowing the strict charater of Comrade Trotsky's orders, I am convinced, of the correctness, expediency and necessity for the success of the cause of the order given by comrade Trotsky that I unreservedly endorse this order". V. Ulyanov (2).

If most Russions saw Trotsky as Lenin's leading lieutenant, in Europe his reputation was even higher. A man as well informed as Betrand Russell was surprized to find that unlike the Westerners the Russian did not see Trotsky as Lenin's equal (3).

However, Trotsky at the apex of his power was on the top of a very shaky pyramid. The blows to the embryonic soviet state which came from Capitalism had alredy been repelled, now there would be a series of inter left fights which would not end till the late 1930's and Trotsky's power would be lost in the struggle. Much of the later part of this process would be purely a power struggle the first half would be caused by the vast discrepency between the high expectations of 1917 and the sad reality of Soviet Russia.

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter popular support for the Bolsheviks came from their libertarian promises issued out before they seized power. Despite the fact the almost all their authoritarian edicts predated the civil war, large numbers of Russians still accepted Bolshevik statements that these were part of the "War Communism" plan. Originally tied to economics, this was a statist legalization for whatever mesures the Bolsheviks took to win the civil war. Whatever the Bolsheviks wanted they requisitioned. Usually this was farm crops and tools but eventually it would include wages, clothing and housing. The term War Communism would also be applied to tthe system of food rationing, which favoured party members to the strict censorship, and to the nearly unlimited power of the secret police, Red Army members and party funcionaries within Bolshevik territory.

By 1920 no one believed that the revolution had fulfilled its promises. The majority of Bolsheviks blamed the conditions of the civil war and the failure of the revolution in Europe. Freedom could be allowed, they said, once the revolution was secured, until then it ws a weapon that the White Guard could use to crush the revolution. As Lenin said during his discussion with Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman "But as to free speech this is of course a bourgeois notion.There can be no free speech in a revolutionary period."Emma Goldman:My Disillusionment in Russia p.33)

Similar statements by Lenin can be found in most of his post 1917 works. An outstanding example is his published "Letter to comrade Miasnikov". Written in April 1921, it attacks freedom of the pres as nothing more tha a cloak for white guard propaganda and this will be carried out by the "most trusted

servants" of the bourgeoisie -the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. The letter endss by inferring that whatever the Bolshevik veteran intends, his actions will end up leading him in the same way.

This type of sentiment had little support among the peole and as their victory was obviously near, most Russians sighed with relief and looked forward to a revival of the revolutionary spirit and egalitarianism of 1917. They expected the aims of "bread to the Hungry", "land to the peasant", "power to the soviets" and peaceto the nation to be finally realized.These hopes also applied to many within the Communist Party. It was the aim of a new faction: The Workers Opposition, which although hierarchical and statist was much mmore democrtatic and humane than the Communist leadership. Within the Communist International many resident foreigners and visitors expressed the same common hopes and increasing concern over the power and privilege the Communist Party allowed itself. These would include much influential figures] Boris Souverine, Victor Serge, Bordiga,Anton Ciliga, H.G.Wells,Alexander Berkman, Betrand Russel, Lowis Fisher, John Reed , Emma Goldman, Mollie Steimer, Senya Flechin, Bill Shatov, Angelica Balanoff, Mazim Gorky, Yevegeny Zamyatin and Alexandra Kollontai.

Very few of the early foreign communists or radicals were enthused, fewer still left eyewitness accounts which are still considered of value Dora Black, Isadora Duncan, Lowise Bryant, Alfred Rosmer, and James .P. Cammon are the main exceptions.

By mid 1920 many revolutionaries began to sense, with increasing unease and anger that there would be little or no change in the way the country was run. The death penality had again been declared illegal and in Petrograd five hundred prisoners had been shot dead to celeate the new law. Strikes were still illegal, all basic freedoms still denied. Although the Communist Party had been governing for three years there was no mention of an election.

Just as these freedoms had been temporarily put aside so the civil war could be won (a supposed dire necessity), so a whole new crop of dire necessities presented themselves in 1920 and this crop is self seedings; coming into blossom every time either the Russian people or any of the Warsaw Pact nations talk of moderating their police states.

Back in 1920 the first supposed reason was that because the Europeqn workers' revolutions had either failed or were betrayed, Russia was isolated and surrounded by hostile powers who would back any white guard invasion. The second reason was that Russia was so devastated by the civil war that urgent measures and strong government were needed to adjust the economy, restore trade and communications and placate the sullen population; that had to deal with starvation, disease and banditry.

The first reason is pure garbage. The allied powers had given up on the Whites even before they stopped fighting. The Allied blockade was lifted in January 1920. By the middle of that year nearly all allied contingents had left the RSFSR. By mid 1921 only the Japanes stayed and they offered

little aid to the remaining whites, hoping to hold onto parts of Siberia for themselves. By late 1920 Lenin had established diplomatic relations, trade agreements and aid with the right wing nationalist leaders Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, Chiang Kay Shek of China and Riza Pahlevi, then foreign minister of Iran. With his borders safe Lenin was able to negotiate with the capitalists for investments and trade developments within Russia. Royal Dutch Shell was the first successful applicant early in 1921 (4). A rush soon followed. By April 1921 Lenin was doing business with the German munition lords who were still helping smash the German revolution. The weapons he bought off them probably were used against socialist rebels in Russia (5).

When the last die-hard white guards did try a re-envasion as part of the Nazi campaign of 1941 they were a tiny minority who met with little success. White guard generals Krasnov and Skuro raked up only a few Cossack regiments who spent much of the war in Italy. They found more success with the victims of Stalinism inside Russia. Initially the Nazis were frequently welcomed as liberators, which is ironic considering the purpose of Stalin's and Lenin's security measures. As for the two million white Russians in exile, the most majority were either so scattered over the globe that they paid little attention to the conflict, or else joined soviet side groups, a few even returned to serve Stalin. From 1921 until this day the Soviet Government has used the threat of a capitalist backed return to Czarism as a bogey to scale off any relaxation of soviet "security".. The reality is that after a generation of futile coffee house politics the white guard movement faded away absorbed into their raw cultures. For example one of the major claimants to the Russian throne became a champaigne salesmen in Florida (6).

The second reason for continuing the dictatorship, that of the extreme devastation and hardship inflicted on the country has more substance. Yet, the Bolshevik treatment of stricter government control is rather like a hospital attendant who finding a patient wrapped in bondages which coker third degree burns decides to get him on his feet again bysetting fire to the bondages.

Bolshevik mistakes helped cause the series of disasters which devastated Russia in 1920-22. When food requisition squads took the peasants' seed grain (the grain, needed to sow the next summer's crop) the peasants warned there would be no crop in 1921, but they were either ignored or shot. On hearing tthese complaints Lenin immediately ordered no more seed grain be collected but the damage was done. Banditry and wartime devastation were contributing factors; but Bolshevik requisition squads were the major cause of the second half of the civil war and of the 1920-21 famine. The official famine death tolls were 5, 200, 000 and could have been higher but for aid from the USA and Europe. About 36 millions suffered privation.

There are numerous other examples. The cheka roadblocks disrupted tthe trade between city and country increasing the hardship. When a group of freezing Petrograd's citizens affronted Zinoviev, governor of Petrograd, with a viable plan for using trains to take people to and from mearby forests to collect firewood, Zinoviev petulantly refused. Yet Lenin gave the example of the peasants refusal to give timber to city dwellers as an example of why a coerive state was needed(7).

Similarly the smashing of the Makhnovist collectives which were supplying the cities with grain made the grain requistition squads a more frequent occurence.

Voline and Goldman had both give accounts of how the Bolsheviks took over from enthusiastic peole's groups the housing issue and bureaucratized it which lead to apathy and consequently to its failure. The same deadening hand of coercion and centralized control touched every field of soviet life. In the military there were originally enthusiastic groups of citizens, Red Guard units and partisans. They usually made their decisions by soldiers committees and elected their own officers. Trotsky put a stop to this, centralizing military power and making the decisions himself (8). This is usually justified on the grounds that the Red Army won the civil war but the Whites may have been beaten sooner if the reds did not have the problems caused by this policy; desertions in large numbers, apathey, intrigues from resentful officers and occasionally a mutiny.

Much the same thing happened with the industrial and agricultural collectives. Despite the allied blockade and Wite Guards and bandits rapacity, the Soviet Russia was still able to produce enormous amounts. Nearly every eyewitness account describes two things:the widespread misery of the majority of ordinary people as they searched for food, fuel and clothing and the flourishing black market where anything could be bought by the new rich.

Betrand Russell describes this strange poverty despite the possibility of abundance. The quote below refers to correct reports that Russian city children were dying of malnutrition. " in the course of day's motoring in the neighbourhood (of Moscow) I saw enough cows to supply milk to the whole child population of Moscow although what I had come to see was children's sanatoriums not cows. All kinds of food can be bought in the market at high prices (9)."

The reason for this situation is not hard to find. In the last years of hhis life Lenin would rage against the mew self seeking bureaucracy which feed off the sufferings of the soviet workers. "We must reduce our state - appartatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must banish from it all traces of extravagance of which so much has been left over from tsarist Russia from its bureaucratic state capitalist machine (10)."

But who would do these reducing and banishing? Not the secret police. The black market and bureaucracy both depended on them. Although the dictatorial police chief Dzerzhinsky was of an austere nature, fanatically honest and dedicated revolutionary, most of his underlings were self seekers. Even amoung the remainder were a fewfew, who unlike Dzerzhinsky, would have renounced their legally granted privileges, but could one honest leader force tthem?

The Communist Party was the major beneficiary of the bureaucracy; they were virtually siamese twins. The bureaucracy administered the food

and clothes via rationing cards which put party members on the same high ration levels as soldiers, police, factory managers, engineers and important foreigners from whom the communists wanted something (usually praise in the overseas media or an alignment their way in foreign left politics).

The bureaucracy also supplied accomodation, travel passes, finance, loans, immigration and emigration, the transfer of equipment and tools and the uuse of hospitals, schools, theartres and other public services. It also had control of miscellaneous favouritism such as supplying cars and meeting places or getting printed material supplied. All members of the bureaucracy were either party members, sympathizers or closely watched socialists. With ties so close how could the party abolish its partner?

Certainly not from the top down!

Zinoviev was governor of Petrograd, president of the Communist International and one of Lenin's six leading lieutenants. Yet this arch communist theoretician lived with his own servants, even more food than his privileged ration card allowed, ample clothes and his own automobile. His accommodation was that well known proletarian hang out, the Petrograd Waldorf- Astoria. Ever the egalitarian, he did not hog the entire hotel for himself but shared it with a few other communists-leaders of course(11).

Nor was Trotsky, the great attacker of other people's priveleges and selfishness, any better. Alfred Rosmer his friend, co-worker and admirer of a quarter of a century left a totally unselfconscous eyewitness description of his civil war era living conditions: "The lounge had been transformed into an office cum library. The other part consisted of the bathroom with a narrow room on each side of it with just enough space for a divan. The following coach was for the secretaries; then followed in turn the printing press, the library, the recreation room, the restaurant, a coach for provisions and spare clothing, an ambulance service and finally a coach specially fitted up for the two motor cars." Rosmer goes on to desribe their radio reception and Trotsky's enormous library which included works by Mallarme (12).

The traim occupants also had special food privileges authorized by Lenin(12).

As the Terrorism and Communism was written in early 1920, while Trotsky was in the train, this is very probably the living standard he enjoyed while writing this work. Alfred Rosmer visited the train just as this notorious work was being published. It is not difficult to imagine Trotsky dictating to a secretary over the dinner-table as he eats his ample privileged rations in his own personal restaurant, perhaps with music from the radio in the background. A few stirring sentencess telling the workers to forsake petty-bourgeois ideas of property and living standards and work for the good of the socialist fatherland on minimum rations in freezing cold with military discipline as a substitute for union rights; then a brief military conference, perhaps for tomorrows inspection of a war zone; a hot bath and a few pages of Mallarme before sleep.

At this time according to Isaac Deutscher, Moscow and Petrograd workers were subsisting on two ounces of rationedbread and a few frozen potatoes, and as for fuel they burned their furniture (14). These were the people Trotsky expected to make more sacrifices for the sake of the Bolshevik state.

Increasingly the slogans of 1917 were being remembered with bitterness. "The average working man feels himself a slave of the government and has no sense whatever of being liberated from tyranny (15)." However, much the Communist Party was hated the white guards were hated more, so despite several incidents such as the anarchist bombing of a Communist Headquarters in Moscow in September 1919 and the Left Social Revolutionary attacks the summer before, the left dissidents, green guards and peasants were generally forlorn from attacking the reds. In November 1920 the last armies fled Russian soil. The same month massive unrest spread throughout Petrograd. The Red Army attacked theMakhnovists and parts of the Caucasian Republics and the number of industrial strikes and localized peasant rebellions rose very sharply.

Increasingly the call for a third revolution swept Russia: the first had been against Czarism; the second against middle class capitalism and the third would be against state communism. Despite the fact that the rebels had diverse aims, no capital, no unified government or army and were frequently isolated from each other it would be a civil war: its first shots were fired by Trotsky's artillery against the Moscow anarchists in April 1918. Its last would be the firing squad volleys in occupied Georgia in Decemer 1922, when Stalin began his first mass purge. In between these two dates were destroyed the many individuals and social groups who were willing to fight and die for the 1917 revolution. After their extermination it would be a struggle bbetween two would be dictators for control of Soviet Russia. In the next chapter the major battle of this civil war, the Kronstadt seige and the suppression of trade union rights will be examined with an emphasis on Trotsky's role in these events.

(to be continued).

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THE INDIANS

LOS INDIOS

The consequence of European expansion all over the world was the subjection of indigenous populations to a totalitarian aggression which broke all their social and individual forms of life and strangled their culture, communities, language and means of expression. The price of this »heroic undertaking" of the West -perhaps the biggest territorial conquest of all times was terrible. The more "advanced" societies at the end of XV century initiated an undertaking without geographical and moral limits characterized by a thirst after conquest and gains. The thirst for profit, usually meant, a systematic destruction of millions of people. The civilization and European progress which had hatched capitalism and industrialization was realized by bullets and fire, by the using of pacts, and separation into zones of influence based on most violent methods.

"With the arrival on our shores of Cristophor Columbus the invasion of America, by European capitalism, began. While European frontiers became narrower for accumulation of their riches, the capitalists felt a neessity to expand towards new markets (as any capitalism in its phaze of development. From there on, the ideology of the dominant classes, had transformed the brutal invasion and the inhuman plunder of our territories into a date to celebrate and eulogize as "the bravery of tne invader (1)."

Only 50 years after the landing of "Columbus' sailors, insolently proclaimed as 'the discovery of America' ", the indigenous populations were were decimated. According to some estimates, the 80 millions people who inhabited the continent at the arrival of the conquerors in 1542, were reduced to 10 millions. The fire arms, the forced labour and the diseases imported from the metropolis had produced a massacre without a precedence, not even comparable to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "the Indian people of America, from the arrival of the European invaders to our days, have been submitted to a slow death... the ardour for death by European conquerors was expressed in many ways: entire indigenous populations during the conquest were exterminated; millions were decimated by forced labour in mines and farms; children were forced to hunger, malnutrition and death, while now they sterilize our women (2)."

The five centuries of colonial domination, now embodied in the "independent" nations, aim to install the "Western" world order, while the indigenous people, who in the present political domination imposed on them by the

nation-state of which they are subjects and who have preserved their identity, in contrast to mulattos and creoles, are still keeping their resistance (peaceful or armed).

West in crises.

The general crises which are shaking the modern world as a result of its civilized undertakings are revealing its contradictions and lacerations. Many talk of the West as being in agony and dying. Thousands of conflicts of a political, economic, ecological and social nature are coming out. Thus minorities as well as the majority dominant groups are looking for new opportunities to express themselves and to weave new solidarity. Oppressed nationalities, women, cultural minorities, poor, and the underdeveloped resist and struggle to affirm their revendications.

Perhaps, the particular case of struggles and conflicts, mistakenly referred to as "Latin America", the meaning of which transcends the local scene points to a general crisis that may provide us with the elements to understand the contemporary reality as well as to re-orient and change it.

In the last decade new political organizations have proliferated that have hoised cultural and ethnic demands which are given birth to a mode of Indian thinking and are putting forward revendications and alternatives to societies on this continent.

In this article we will try to bring to light the new contributions which are tacitly ignored by the media of the right as well as the left. Even if protagonists of the so-called movements of national liberations, they risk to become absorbed by the persistent hereditary unconscious prejudices of the system they fight against, which exalts and instrumentilizes them as a mass to be manipulated in the fight of today and the work of tomorrow.

The Persistence of Dominance.

The Western canibalism has exterminated and continue to exterminate without questioning and, at the same time, it tries to assimilate the soft part of the social body and integrates it into its own economic, political and religious forms, to be exploited and dominated. What is useful is kept and what is useless or resists assimilation is eliminated.

But as the Bulgarian T. Todoroff in his recent book The conquest of America -the Other Side" has suggested, this operation needs legitimation. "one of its objectives is to establish some parallels with our epoch by establishing a relationship between the essential role played by the christian religion in the conquest and its role in the actual neo-colonialism, that is, the mythical idea of progress. Once, in the name of spiritual welbeing one was robbed and deprived of his identity. Today progress is the secular religion and the conquest is accomplished under its pretext. I think that without the legitimazation of these horrible acts, fraudulent and faithless as they appeared to be, the conquerors would lack impetus and conviction which cannot be denied them. Religion is a means as well as an end and, thanks to it, the conquest often triumphs. A look at history evidences that religion advances hand in hand with the conquerors (3)."

Also, other proceedings are added. Scientific methods are in the service of and an integral part of that domination. Thus in an imaginery or in a real museum, knowledge and symbols are elaborated of a world, which is willed dead and inferior, transforming it into anthropology and archeology. In a populist and less serious sense the job that corrodes traditions and customs is done by a commercialized tourism which strips Indians of any real significance and subjects them to the contamination of the spectacle and economic interests and..."now, not without a trick, the village offers to the tourists an image of an existence, from now on useless (4)."

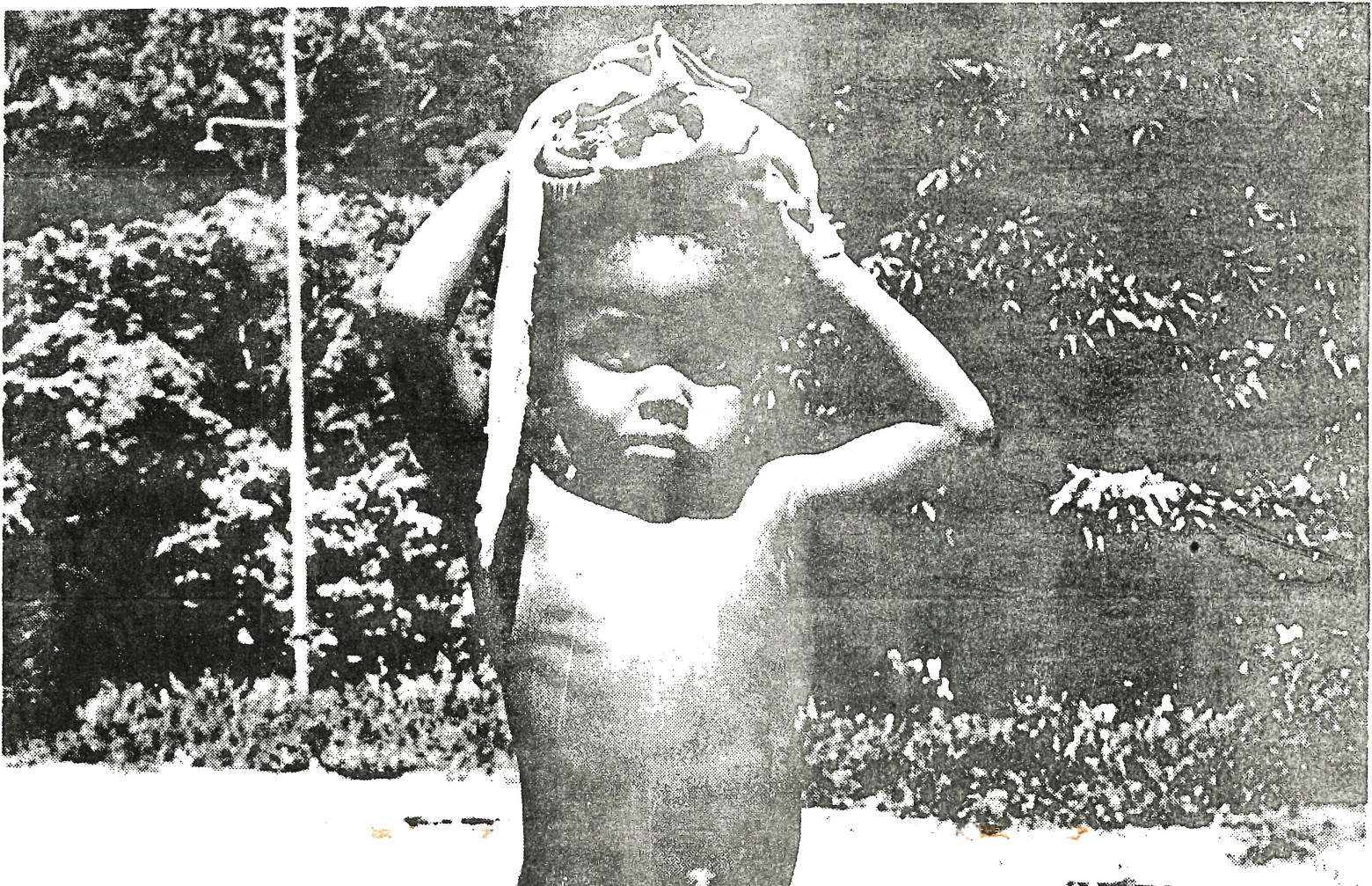
But things go beyond that. Domination not only persists but renews and modernizes itself. Western values, by means of economic and ideological powers- already imposed to the whole world in a homogeneous manner, are now trying to determine the model of development of the Third World countries. This is entrusted to new technocrats nourished by the dominant values and a produce of Latin America.

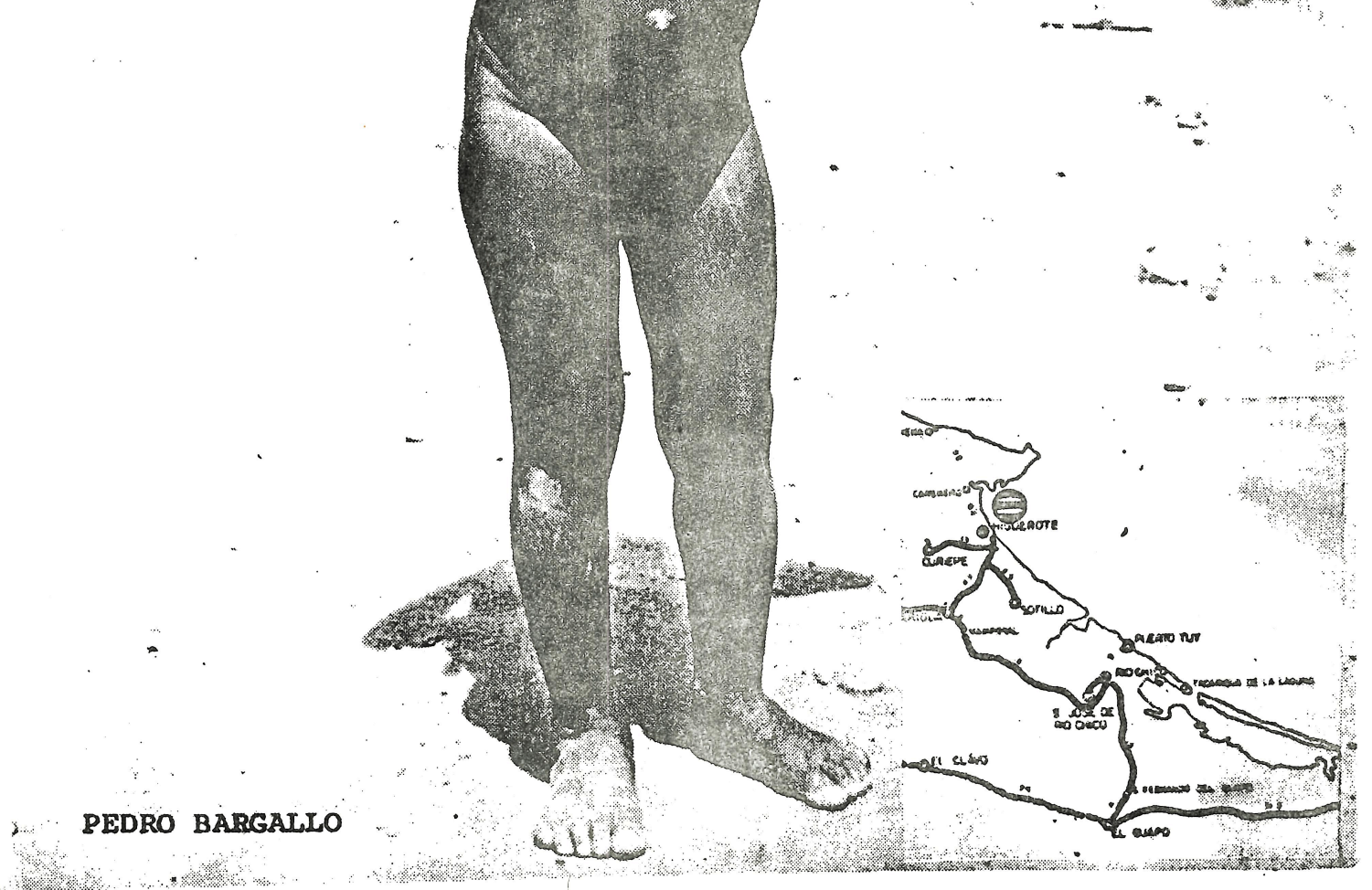
"To facilitate cultural adaptation and integration of the Indian populations into the Western model of civilization, all Indians were put into the same steriotypes: simple cultures of the past. Meanwhile in the beginning of this and the last century political parties, religious and humanitarian institutions engendered and developed new local elites of intellectuals and scientists who had, at any price, aimed at preserving their privileges by democratic methods or military dictatorships (5)."

Behind the Mask of Paternalism.

"Progressive" considerations are equally contaminated by the same values and mode of thinking. Already in his presupposition, Fray Bartolome de las Casas whose attitude in approaching the Indians- the others, is regarded as a more generous and egalitarian, is equally colonialist. To say that Indians are equal to Spaniards rather than inferior as his implacable enemies claim, is to negate the differences and favour assimilation., When one projects to the others his own image, he fails to see the real image. Thus made, the portrait of Indians does not correspind to reality, but to his christian ideal which ignores the other and identifies his values with values in general. This postulates an indisputable superiority which precludes any real discussion.

Today anthropologists, sociologists and theoriticians full of good intentions try to transmute Indians into proletarians, peasants and bourgeois, making them once again, perhaps without realizing it, to fit their categories of analyses and their indisputable values. It is here that Indians face a struggle on two fronts: structural and linguistic oppression,the two complementary aspects of reality. Thus from another structural and languistic reality they voice their protest. With a risk to simplify, it can be affirmed that:"Bourgeois, proletariat and peasants are the classical classes of the West, of Europe, which in Indian America and particularly in Bolivia are rough and ridiculous superstructures. The peasant of the West is a social class, an exploited class subjugated to wages by territorial bourgeoisie. In Bolivia a territorial or rural bourgeoisie does not exist. The Indian is not a wage earner, he does nnot live on wages. He is not a social class - he is a race, people, an oppressed nation.





PEDRO BARGALLO

CAMINOS DE VENEZUELA

The Indian is not a peasant problem. The real peasant struggles for wages and his objective is social justice.

The Indian struggles neither for wages, which he has never known,nor for social justice which he hardly imagines. The Indian fights for racial justice for freedom of his race which has been enslaved from the time the West put paws on the lands of Tahuantinsuyu.

The Indian cannot and ought not be a peasant of the White Society; he has to be a free man in a free society (6)."

What has been a latent problem for a long time now emerges vigorously in Central America. The Marxian scheme fails to accept a reality different from the one it was born in. Paradoxically, this is allso true of groups and minorities which, in a paternalistic way, pretent to encourage the liberation of the people.

"National parties and organizations of the left, judging from their position (or more precisely lack of such) have neither in theory nor in practice accepted the fact of the Indian political mobilization.As a matter of fact, they have failed to accept one fact - the Indians. The discussion within the ortodox left coincides with the attitude of some governers who eliminated Indians by decrees, they force the ethnic groups into the category of peasants to whom revolutionary capacities are denied and to whom is assigned the role to assist (and fight for) the political programme of the proletariat (7)."

Clastres' analyses.

No longer can this problem be hidden. To overcome it implies, naturally, conflicts and struggle. As in a recently published letter by the ALAI (The Latin American Agency of Information) it is affirmed that this utilitarian concept of the Indigenous (or the workers) is not clearly perceived by revol-

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WHEN ONE PROJECTS TO THE OTHERS HIS OWN IMAGE, HE FAILS TO SEE THE REAL IMAGE.

-utionaries thus endangering and pointing to unstated substance of their projects. "In this way the indigenous question has become a central issue of theoretical and political definitions of the revolutionary organizations, especially those whose interest is to gain the support of the Indigenous masses in the sstruggle against the present system of domination (8)."

The intention of this article is not to enquire into the origin of ethnocentric prejudice, another study in itself of similar analyses and projects. A prejudice largely shared and supported by these "elites of intellectuals and scientists" who utter, more or less sancrosanct judgements, weiled in scientific pretexts, and who, in their turn, as Clastres points out, victims of coarse and terrible mystification, have contributed to determine the strat-

developed situation, also determines the value and meaning of the familiar discourse on politics and power. Familiar because the encounter between the West and the Savages has always provided the pretext to repeat again and again the same discussions. Let us take as an example what the first European discoverers of Brasil had said about the Tupinambas' Indians: People without faith, without laws, without kings. Their leaders, in fact had no power. What could appear more strange for people who came from France, Portugal and Spain, a society where the authority was in the hands of absolute monarchies (10)." The lack of hierarchy, of coercion and the absence of an authoritarian structure had been and is regarded as a lack of political powe. Anarchy and freedom are viewed as dangerous and as a deficit. As Clastres has stressed:" our culture, from its origin, perceives political power only as hierarchical and authoritarian relations only of order and obidience.

Permanent authority.

Politics, the mechanism by which a society tackles a situation and takes decisions in order to solve the problems it is faced with, has been in many archaic societies realized in a manner which can be considered opposed to the Western world classification, where society is divided between dominators and dominated.

The absence of social division of dominators and dominated, leaders and led are extraneous to the Western model. This absence is seen as a deficit. One, therefore, should not wonder that this is found also in projects with revolutionary claims and, especially in the dhosen instruments of social egy of the Industrial nations (The North) towards the underdeveloped world (The South). As Clastres has always pointed out, the scientific inconcistency of the economic concept of subsistance that pretends to classify different societies, reveals more the attitudes and behavi our of the Western observers in relation to primitive society rather than the economic reality on which these cultures are based. Contrary to this "scientific judgement", mostly made by Marxism (the avant garde of the Western thought), these societies, in reality, have been the first Societies of abundance (9) especially evidenced by the surplus values of free time in their disposition. Their evaluation will lead to the discussion of language and the values that support it.

" The same view which refers to the primitives as people who, among a thousand difficulties live in subsistence economy in a technically underchange..Thus a parallel between apparently opposite theories can be established: Those who serve to facilitate colonialism, the instauration of socialism of authoritarian inspirations and the imposition of ideologies and planning based on development, all of them are to be defined as ethnocide because they have condemned to death various social forms which are not adaptabler within their parameter of domination or are not comfortable to the lofty leaders and their order.

Jean Duvignaud shows that in Africa as well as in America creating a socialist regeme is, in reality, "a slow instauration of the cadres of the

middle classes which impose a group modality according to schemes conceived in town and, in the most cases, by Europeans. These schemes based on socialist ideology are realizable thanks to the authority of a bureaucracy (112)."

No wonder, a critical observation indicates a constant authoritarian resurgence in the feature of all thinking and experiences of the West. Some ideologies which enjoy great reputation in movements related to Indians are based, on mistrust, denying any possibility of workers' and peasants' management and power. Kautsky stated this but Lenin transformed it into aa programme and had made it an integral part of his debate: "The proletariat cannot achieve its class consciousness unless it comes from outside, outside of the economic struggle and outside of the sphere of workers and masters relationship (12)." All Leninist ideology constantly recurring in present day movements is based on the postulate that the exploited and the outcasts lack ability, the ability to make a revolution and, above all, to run the production by themselves.

The Self Management is not an Utopia

As the First International revendicated:"the emancipation of the workers is an act of the workers themselves" so do indigenous people in their bases, communities and congresses reaffirm that "where the Indian people are in a majority their immediate objective is self determination and where they are in a minority it is the right of autonomy (13)." The awareness of the richness of his culture, history and ideas strengthens his claims. "We are determined to return to our economic structures. The self-management of our community is an alive reality and not a utopia, as far as the industrial and agricultural economy of our people is geared towards harmonious satisfaction of social and individual necessities in any communitarian sphere..the struggle for liberation of Indians is not a class struggle but a struggle for a civilization. Neither is it a question to transfrome the Andian-Amazonian society into a homogeneous society, but, rather, to rebuild the Indian institutions which have maintained themselves in each community till now.That does not imply that the technological progress is to be rejected. But the result of the international exchanges need not be either destruction of the civilization of given people nor, for that matter, their extermination. The genocide, disocupation and other social issues imposed upon Latino-American society will desappear from the day we govern ourselves (14)."

GENOCIDES AND DISOCCUPATION WILL DESAPPEAR FROM THE DAY WE GOVERN OURSELVES.

- The contra-position of the P.G.T. (Guatemala's Workers Party)is stated as:"complete incorporation of the indigenous population in the revolutionary process, beginning from the position of their class situation and the characteristics as exploited class, but considering the particular forms their social consciousness is expressed. It is necessary to struggle a lot hard to apply the fundamental orientation of the Party according to place, prevalent situation and at national level (15)." In a more confused form, but always based on centralized coercian and power, we can quoate a document of the E.G.P. (The Guerrilla's Army of the Poor):" we can anticipate that soon after the

revolutionary forces take power the direction of the state would be in the class organisms and ethnico-national revolutionaries, that in a free and voluntary general understanding the indigenous and Latin people wold decide the economic, social and political confuguration which the New Multinational Country will have (16)."

This double message: the horizontal -of the people, and the vertical- of the management is today present in various social manifestations which move the "under-developed world. The mistrust towards the vertical expression is evident: "With the peasants'leaders, pacts were signed in favour of the white minorities and against the Indian people, against the impoverished sectors: workers, miners and exploited classes. Many politicians have nominated themselves as leaders of the peasant just to grab power (17)."

"The Indian movement neither believes in Western democracy, nor in its political jokes and cheatings w ch are perpetrated at expence of the workers. By declaring political, cult ral and philosophical war on the West, we declare war on its social and economic manifestations."

The rejection of the West is total! We reject "its reason, 'idolatry' of gold, private property, exploitation of man by man, class struggle, nazi-fascism, proletarian dictatorship, communism and the terror of its atom bombs."

In their message they see:"the message to which humanity looks for to opt out from the mortal bog into which the West has forced it. They feel and like to be the back bone and the spirit of a liberationist revolution... but, in the first place, it is necessary to return to the laws of nature, and in the second- to change radically the mode of thinking. This is not an easy but a worthwhile task for the revolutionaries in this dangerous day and age in which humanity lives. It means above all, to recover the ttrue path to the social evolution, beginning with primitive communism and abrogating once for ever the nightmare of slavery, feudalism and captalism(18)."

The awareness of ones own "modernity" is confirmed in the thinking of one of the most important figures of this dispised world:

"The thought of the New World is of such a vastness and nature, and a thoudand signs indicate that Maya-Incas social reality corresponds to the atomic era as announced by Einstein:'if humanity has to survive it is necessary to change totally its mode of thinking, the perceptions of the world, the relationship among its own kinds, the idea of people, races, individuals, religions and beliefs because the world it begins to live is completely different from one which has given birth to men of today. Atomic disintegration indicates a limitation to an age before and after the bomb. It is not anylonger possible to think as before, to act as we have acted before, or to use the same political and diplomatic methods as before.' Einstein arrives at the New World's mode of thinking, or better again, the new World thinking is revealed in his genius. In fact the New World thinking is the thinking of the neuclear era (19)."

The Centuries of Silence is Broken.

Silence spread into centuris extinguishing the life of nearly 3oo millions of Indians who have lived in very different conditions in Central and South America. The highlanders (half-Americans) and the people of the Andes' zone mostly engaged in agriculture in various associative forms are simply reduced to peons of the latifundia and Latin-American and foreign capitalist' enterprises. Some are included in the circuit of the dominant society through comercialization of their products and wage labour. Others, practically isolate in some part of the forestry, hunt, fish, gather agricultural products or are engaged in primitive agriculture. But if the region they live in is destined to become a "national" or a capitalist development they are simply eliminated. The state of being "primitive" and difficult to assimilate in a project of development makes them a simple category to be eliminated. Between these two extremes: either integrated or isolated, are people with very different technological and organizational bases, marginally bound but occupying an exact place in the division of labour in the dominant system.

All suffer a sharp process of culturalization with devastating results for those who were more subjected to colonial domination and, who because of that, had incorporated more elements of the Western cultural imperialism. The process of culturalization is a complex one but does not necessarily mean the lost of cultural and ethnic identity. The basic values have been maintained and as soon as the historical circumstances make it possible to free them from the violence of the dominator they will re-appear as the main element in the struggle for liberation and will be able to mobilize all people.

Due to that many insurrections had taken place but were frustrated by the brutal violence of the "civilized" and their war technology. Even during the fight for the "American Independence" at the begining of the XIX century the Indians took side against European oppression. Their generous contribution of blood facilitated the substitution of one power elite with another, and then they found themselves in new forms of oppression which had kept them in conditions of poverty and exploitation. The national armies decimated and pushed them into inhospitable regions and either despersed or forced them in servitude of the nascent capitalism; first orchestrated by the English and later on substituted by the Yankee's imperialism.

Preserved as alive remnants of a dead culture, their real presence has been transformed into a folklore, a profitable phenomenon of an international industry - tourism, which exploits them.

The indigenous see it as the momentous key of cultural domination and denounce it, because its function is to " confirm and consolidate the 'superiority' of the white and, at the same time, to promote temporary relief of their guilt (20)." The indigenous, in reality, are invited to play tthe role of primitives and inferiors so that the Whites can see themselves as civilized and superiors. On the other side, the actual indication of exploitation and domination -barefeet, apathy, sadness and alcoholism -are presented

as integral part of the indigenous culture. The poverty exhibited with pride is convert-ed to a spectacle with an inverse image of a "happy in its misery" people.

Paradoxically, the symmetrical spectacle of "unhappy in their richness" the collapse of the dominant values which other Whites have imposed all over the world and which are more and more questionable -facilitatd the revival of other values and voices. What begins to revive finds its own strength. This direct expression of indigenous, silenced for centuries, erupts with strengh and becomes more radicalized. Many see in it a possile redemption of a humanity in crises.

Take heed to internal colonialism.

"The Indian no longer accepts any other finality escept his own culture. His thought, Indianism, exists since the arrival of the Spanish, and shall not be confused with the cultural ! ino-American indigenism of Marategui. Indiamism, as an ideology, is an ...terpretation of communitarian life, it is the reality we live, a reality correlated to manifestation of our civilization. The Latino-American indigenism is the dunghill, where all problems inherited by European colonization are going to end(21)."

This radicalization of indigenous expression finds many "cultivated" spoke's persons who have a good knowledge of the Western world, its history and its ideas. Paradoxically, the inconsistency between an illuminated and leading elite and the crushed and apathetic masses might be repeated.Thus all thise debates, generally made in foreign languages (Castilian, French and English), may create a vicious circle and directly lash at the oppression rather than circulate communications within the indigenous community. With proclamation coming from two worlds: the imaginary and the real ones, the contamination begins. Concepts such as: class struggle, popular masses, disocupation and ecology are possible only in half-cast cultures and in the cloisters of the official universities. Even those great "debators" with their super-evaluation of their pre-historic societies fall into ethnocentrism in an opposite sense but ,nontheless, symmetric and equally acritical as that of Europeans. For example, the ancestral Inca's societies are presented as plain and without conflicts which does not hold ground if confronted with historical data. The past is transformed into a utopia (a myth constituted by a desired future) with intentions to mobilize people.

To mention another aspect:all those indigenous movements are inserted into and based on regional and national revolutionary currents that have come to existence in our time:Bascs, Corsicans, Palestinians, Eritreans, Croations, Laplanders etc., a long list of different people who revendicate their differences. Their words and their mobilizations are strengthened and, perhaps, listened to by contemporaries. Forwards come even sectors originating in the civilized world: the echological,racial, demographic and afective-sexual crises, unemployement, discusions on consumerism and urban life require new models of life and new sensibility. No wonder that all those movements take the "tribe" as the alternative idea of organization and use for their major projects concepts borrowed from those idealized "primitive"

civilizations.

It is even less wonder as in the case of any marginal groups(frikkettons, punk, homosexual or emigrants) that the system tolerates them by enclosing them in various reserves controlled by special institutions. Only if they discuss more central issues and direct action, they will receive a a treatment reserved for the mad, anti-conformists and revolutionaries. This is settle in other institutions specialized also in violence and terror: hospitals, cells, shooting disappearance and death.

In the already quoted and justly entitled book The Lost Language, J. Divignaud maintains that "the external colonialism cannot be separated from the internal one which is exercised on the most active sectorof social producers."

Savages and proletarians share the loss of alanguage which the industrial and highly urbanized society has taken from them; a language which ought to be restored by emphasizing nucleus and creative nuances which still exist in communities not dominated or marginalized by economic development yet.

To discover the difference among savages may lead us to a discovery of the correlation between the demands of those human "primitive" groups (poor and backward from an European pont of view) and projects and social revendications which mecessitate self-management of freely asociated producers (including the poor and backward proletariat).

"The one as well the other are two images of the same demand, which certainly has not been satisfied and, therefore, facilitates the return of what has been repressed, the new voices restore the loss but not forgotten language (22)."

The documents which follow are shortened.We have chosen them on the base of our difference which has conditioned our choice. Our criticism does not lessen our synmpathy and solidarity to many of their stated positions.

Ruben. G. Prieto.

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Faced with manifold nature, the Westerner and the Indian differ in approaches. The Westerner, with an arrogant and ridiculous make-up, has declared unilaterally a fight against nature and, in relation to it, act as a terrible depredator. His destructive work goes so far as to make uninhabitable our own environment which appears more like a desert and which has been poisoned beyond remedy. In his delirious and irrational fight against nature (which is,in fact, a struggle against himself) the Westerner prescribes modality of destruction of the natural environment, among which is the rule of hunting, a real criminal act.

Instead, we Indians, we are, and proclaim ourselves, sons of the infinite nature, of Pachanama; consequently we do not steal its fruits but take them and assure that the plants, continue to flourish and that the animals continue to live in harmony and peace with us. The Indian has never destroy his environment as does this ferocious, barbarous and aggressive Westerner. The Indian conserves his environment with love, restoring the fertilityof the soil and treating it with love. The first manifestation of this love for the environment consist in respecting the natural laws, which is translated into a profound and balanced natural ethics that derives from the firm conviction that we have common origin with plants, animals, stones, rocks, meadows, air and butterflies. This superior ethics is in contrast to the intrinsique Western criminality, which if not stop in time will explode the world into a thousand pieces.

With regard to the physical relations to environment, social improvement is achieved when those productive techniques, which cannot be prescinded from the capacity to co-ordinate them with the natural laws, are improved and asserted. This in fact is the technology of social production. In this context it may be stated that there is more freedom when technology is more advanced, but this is only an approximation to the truth. because

there are varios technologies which destroy the environment and which, at the end, endanger the existence of humanity itself.This is part icularly the case of the Western technology, and because of that, the Western technology is completely an enemy of freedom. Contrary to these technologies are the Indian ones, which are founded on the ethics of our conduct to the environment and also to the general human conditions on the Earth. That's why the indian technology is always libertarian.

On the level of the whole relationships less society generates oppresion within itself more liertarian it is,. In the Western societies, for example, where rich people exists beside the very poor ones, there is no freedom for the simple reason that the poor are not free of hunger, of ignorance, cold, oppression, exploitation and slavery, while, at the same time, the the rich are not free of wickedness, egoism, of the fear from the poor, base passions and moral misery. Instead in Indian societies all are brothers, ffathers and sons and the individual temperanent is of service to one>s neighbour; all are free from misery, oppression, emargination, although nobody has the freedom as in the western regimes either to act against the people,to act arbitrarily, nor even to think that he might be freer if he forgets the social and economic progress of his fraternal community, because the destiny of his freedom is in the progress of his community.

Finally, the facts, from whatever point of view they are looked at demonstrate that authentic freedom can be exercised in socialist society only with solid fraternal ties. This characterizes the typical Indian organization, while the Western societies ,because they are soundly inhuman, are the most complete and total negation of freedom.

Yirgilio Roel Meneda, Raiz y vigencia e la indianidad, Cuadernos indios n.3. Lima 1980.

LESS SOCIETY GENERATES OPRESSION WITHIN ITSELF MORE LIBERTARIAN IT IS.

We, the peasants think that...

A true process is constracted on culture. This is the real value of a people. The bases of national frustration is the fact that qwuechua's and aymara's cultures have always been under systematic attempts of destruction. The politicians of dominant minorities wants to promote a development exclusively based on servile imiation of the development of other countries, while our cultural patrimony is completely different. Moreover, relying on practical materialism they come to believe that progress is founded uniquely on the economic aspects of life.

We, the peasants, want economic development but beginning with our values. We don't like to sacrifice our noble ancestral virtues on the altar of a pseudo-development. We fear this false ideology of development which is imported from outside; it is ficticious and does not respect our real values. We want to surpass useless paternalism and one should stop consider us

as second class citizens. We are strangers in our own country.

Neither our virtues nor our world's vision and life are respected. Scholastic education, party politics, the technical development have not made any significan change in the country. Peasants' participation was never attained because our culture was never respected and our mentality never understood. We, the peasants, we are sure that there will be a development in the fields and all over the country, only if we are the makers of our own progress and masters of our own destiny.

Manifesto di Tiawanacu, La Paz 1973.

Different Thinking.

We, of the Peruvian Indian Movement, do not limit our struggle to defend our folklore, nor do we limit ourselves to denouncing persecutions, usurpation of land, human violation, struggle for political rights, revendicating our language etc. We set up our struggle on political-ideological terrain. We put against the West a coherent body of philosophical principles which show the immorality of its ideas and values, the unscientific mode of its production and reproduction and the feebleness of its religious sentiment, besides the fact that its laws and ethics are bult on a awkwardly subjective metaphysical base, contrary to life, cosmic and natural laws.

That's why we say that our struggle is a war against the West as far as its thinking and its conception of human history are wrong, inconsistent, selfish and discriminatory. In comparison to the general view the West ofers to justify its social and economic behaviuour, we Latin-American Indians, to obstract its way, propose our moral style of life and our social and economic attitude of creation and production.

We do not participate in games of lachrymal protest such as to ask "the return of our land, which was seized by a foreign invador, because we cannot live beside him and share his laws and principles." No! We Latin-American Indians cannot accept the morality, the religion, the philosophy and the science of the West, because they are neither right, ethical or sscientific. We will demonstrate that the thought of our grand fathers of Tawantisuyu is just, moral, scientific and cosmic, that is, it is unexelled.

For this reason, our militant struggle is a struggle for revolutionary liberation. Thus we demand an exhaustive study of Tawantisuyu so that our brothers acquire a true historical consciousness, on the base of facts and the achievemant of our ancesters. Since more that 460 years the West has by force occupied the American continent, imposing with arms the violence of its ideas, principles and laws. As against it, we have set up a struggle of liberation by teaching our Indian brother the truth of their history, their exceptional great past, insuperability of their life style and so on, in order that, they compare the two realities and choose to recuperate their own. Hence, to demonstrate that only in this way they will begin to live full, in harmony with land and the universe, life.

We are aware that the majority of our Indian brothers have forgotten their past. The systematic action of the Western powers has inculcated deeply in the Indian thinking a culture, religion, class hierarchy and a valorization of feeling and virtues which have always been strange and incomprehensible. This explain why many Indian brothers disown their past, immitate the West by enriching themselves, steal, lie and are lazy as the foreigners who have come from oversees.

Therefore, faced with the oppression and the persectution the Indian people have suffered, we the militants of the Peruvian Indian Movement, at tedium insist on the urgent necessity to create and refresh the historical consciousness, since only people who live in continuity with a great past can conquer the future and recuperate their communitarian destiny. When one knows where he comes from one knows how far he can go.

We affirm, here, that we are authentic socialists, not because we imitate the foreigner, but because our ancesters in their achievements and projects, from the beginning of Tawantinsuyo, were socialists. We consider our struggle as an action of re-conquering it. We like to turn contrariwise the course of our history and return to freedom, justice, creativity and the message.

Have passed 460 years since the barbarians of the West have had assassinated our forefathers, stole their great richness, destroy their temples, burned testimonies of our incomparagle civilization, deprived them of their language, their music, their religion and their communitarian arts...Thus the Indian nation is crusified more than 460 years.

For the Indians, therefore, the struggle for liberation does not mean the level of life achieved by the West, because such a level of life is built on blood, sweat and tears of a thousand and thousand brothers of the world. Furthermore, the science and technology that have been used are predatory, contaminated, false and anti-natural. For the Indians the struggle for complete liberation is possible only if we return to the political and philosophical camp and the cosmic thought of our forefathers. That means when life is harmonized with nature and the universe, inexorable respecting the fundamental elements of life: air, water, trees, animals and land.

For us, the Indians, the class struggle the construction of Western socialism, the modes of modern production and market economy are wrong ways and methods to realize the communalism of our forefathers, We have another concrete, real and scientific course. To understand it, it is necessary to think differently from the patterns established by the West. We ought to see, analyse and project in a collectivist form, because the internal natural and universal order necessitates it. The men and the other species that precede them are born collectivists because the Earth and the cosmos are collectivists.

To defeat the West it is not necessary to utilize its concepts such as:anti-slavery, anti-feudalism, anti-capitalism or anti-imperialism because it means to accept the norms of a false science, of adulterated history

and the wretched "reason" of human destiny. We fight the West by pointing out that its history, laws morals, schience, technology, philosophy and religion are contrary to natural and universal laws and give life to kindered and speculative opposites such as: capitalism gives life to its opposite which is Marxist-Leninist socialism, which thus becomes another face of the same coin, another part of false dialectical subjectivist game. By fightin the West we do not put forward its opposite but a new thinking. We try to demonstrate that its presence is an aberrant caricature, a cancer which live on the shoulders of natural and cosmic laws.

Guillermo Ca mero hoke.

(Teoria y practica de la indianidad, Cuadernos indious n.1 Lima 1979).

THOSE WHO WOULD GIVE UP ESSENTIAL LIBERRTIES TO PURCHASE A LITTLE TEMPORARY SAFETY DESERVE NEITHER LIBERTY NOR SAFETY.

B. Franklin.

PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY.

VII.

THE STATE AND SOCIAL ECONOMY.

If the fatalist law had turned many Socialists from the economic struggle, and driven the masses exclusively into electoral agitation, that would have been an evil, but only a partial one. For example, in Germany, where the Social Democratic party boasts so remarkable a success, the conditions

of labor are far worse not only than in England, where the masses continue the purely economic contest, but worse than in France.* But this evil has remained partial, for the majority of workers have instinctively kept to the economic battlefield of the strike. But if in our times we are witnesses of an injurious and miserable development of the all powerful State, centralizing everything, paralyzing the productive energy and the intellectual life of nations, enchaining European humanity and eating up whole nations by its millions of functionaries, its prodigious standing armies, and if the masses of the people are submitting to the Despotism of the State, the police and any sort of authority, a great part of the responsibility, if not the whole, falls upon the metaphysical, authoritarian, Social Democratic, German school.

Before the doctrines of Social Democracy had so fully developed, all independent spirits, among the middle classes and the people alike, attempted by every means to lessen and curtail in every possible way the influence of the State in social life, the number of its officials, and its financial powers. Under the influence of the revolution in North America and the formation of the United States, the ideas of autonomy and federation began to gain sympathy in the popular mind. Before 1848, both Liberal politicians and Socialists were partisans of the complete autonomy of productive groups. Even Louis Blanc, the admirer of the Jacobins and the Convention, with their motto, "The Republic one and indivisible," recognized in his project for the "Organization of Labor" that, "organized workshops and loans to the poor being set on foot, the State has no further right to meddle with the autonomous life of the association." But Social Democracy began to preach that all must be sacrificed to the State, that it must be allowed to absorb and centralize everything; for, thanks to economic destiny, one fine day, instead of Hohenzollerns and Bismarcks, there would be Liebknecht, Engels, and Bebel organizing a terrestrial paradise by means of their industrial and agricultural armies.† All ideas of autonomy were treated as ridiculous, Federalism was persecuted in the International, and Liebknecht, with comically reactionary arrogance, de-

* It is very interesting to compare the results of the Socialist, or rather the labor, movement in various countries. A comrade wishing to undertake such a work will find curious and interesting information in the Blue Books for 1893 (Consular Reports).

clared, "I am the enemy of all Federal republics," *

We are already sufficiently acquainted with their fundamental economic theory. Let us see if their love for the State has turned out any better than their economic Fatalism. In the following analysis I limit myself exclusively to France, with its centralized and all powerful State.

It is well known to every one that every event in social and organic life is the result of an expenditure of energy, a use of matter. If the expenditure exceeds the advantage of an enterprise, sensible men give up the enterprise. The same thing occurs in social life: a hurtful institution is in the end always rejected. In our fathers' days, when Marxian metaphysic, with its fantastic laws and hypotheses, had not yet invaded Socialism, everyone rebelled against the useless expenses of the State, against the crushing burden of taxation. And what did the State take that our worthy fathers and grandfathers should thus rebel?

GROWTH OF THE EXPENSES OF THE STATE IN POUNDS STERLING.

	1750	1810	1850	1889	Increase from 1750–1889
France	14,200,000	40.000,000	51,000,000	121,800,000	9 times
Germany	7,000,000	11,500,000	23,800 000	154,700,000	22 "
Russia	1,600,000	11,000,000	39,900,000	88,800,000	55 "
Italy	1,500,000	4,600,000	12,000,000	72,000,000	48 "

They were ignorant fellows, those men of the Great Revolution, to rebel against the charges of the State. "Scientific Socialism" teaches the people that they must joyfully put up with expenditure 22 and 48 and 55 times greater than formerly. But I, an ignorant Anarchist, I approve the revolt of our grandfathers, and I grow indignant over the completely ruined condition of the people in Russia, where State expenses have increased 55 times, over the misery of Italy, where the expenditure is 48 times as great as before, and over Germany, where Social Democracy flourishes and the workers toil 13, 15, and often 18 hours a day for wages amounting to 1s. 6d. (36 cents).

† It appears that these gentlemen are seriously preparing for the command of the industrial army. Bebel, according to his own expressions, attended the last Social Democratic Congress at Vienna, not as a mere delegate, but like a general, a crowned head come to review troops.

* "... dass ich Gegner jeder Föderativ-Republik bin." ("Volksstaat," March, 1872, p. 2. "Memoire de la Fédération Jurassienne," p. 284.)

But we shall be told that, if the expenses of the State are increased, it is the people themselves who profit thereby. Indeed? Let us look into that.

The French budget for 1892 shows us that the State took 3,780,077,692 francs that year. From this enormous sum,

	Francs
The bourgeoisie received as interest on the "public debt"	1,284,191,374
The same bourgeoisie, for the administration of finance and collection of taxes for the government	1,193,494,440
The same bourgeoisie, for the army commissariat, at least one-third of the military expenses, amounting to	285,142,000
Total allowance to bourgeoisie	2,762,827,814
If we add the military expenses, destined to protect the same bourgeoisie	570,282,000
Remains the modest sum of for education, post office, and public works, which also are largely for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.	446,967,878

To the State budget must be added 500,000,000 francs for the municipal budgets, a third of which is also distributed among the rulers and exploiters, and we arrive at the fact that the State, so loved and favored by the Marxian metaphysicians, every year deprives the French people of three and a half milliards for the advantage of the bourgeoisie! It is a pretty sum to distribute. It forms a third of all of which the bourgeoisie deprives the people by direct exploitation. For, according to the calculations of Leroy Beaulieu, the annual revenue of all France is equal to 25 millions of francs, which are divided about as follows:—

	Francs
To the State, returned	4,000,000
To the bourgeoisie, counting the nine millions of producers who gain for their employers 250 francs per day	8,212,000,000
For the national consumption, counting 50 centimes per day per head	7,300,000,000
The costs of production	5,488,000,000

Three milliards and a half given by the State, eight milliards and 212 millions extracted under the protection of the same State, altogether 11,712,000,000 francs that the exploiters in France can divide between them each year.

And now, reader, do you understand why the number of capitalists increases without the millionaires eating up the smaller bourgeois? With this enormous sum, 11,712 millionaires (in francs) might be created a year, and 23,434 capitalists possessing 500,000 francs; or, as actually happens, the sum may be divided rather more generally, and the whole bourgeoisie, who rule us and make the laws for their own advantage, thus prosper and multiply.

But you see that the empire has fallen. The people, placing their

hope in the republic, that beloved Marianne, would relieve them of their crushing burdens, would diminish national Parasitism. They flattered themselves in vain with such hopes. The republican State showed itself even more wasteful. You may judge by these figures:—

Years	Salaries (Million francs)	Pensions (Million francs)
1855	241	30
1870	296	30
1880	440	47
1893	517	81

and the number of functionaries has increased 806,000 individuals.

You must not think this malady peculiar to French republicans. In Russia, Germany, Italy, everywhere, the growth of Parasitism is as rapid. It is the same in the United States, where functionaries' pensions are a great burden, and ever go on increasing. If we examine the expenses of administration of the national debt and of pensions, we find for the year 1892:—

Administration	$100,000,000
Interest of public debt	23,000,000
Pensions	125,000,000
Total	$248,000,000

The entire budget is $109,000,000; to put it in another way, more than half of the expenditure goes to those who produce nothing. And we hear men extol the State and think they can ever reform it! (Kinder-Glauben!)

But have you noticed that the State not only plays the part of protector of capitalist exploitation, but itself directly accomplishes a third of this exploitation? And the people are told that they must leave to the State the absolute monopoly of economic affairs.

What would you say, reader, if I advised that for the solution of the social question full power should be allowed to the exploiters to ruin the people, and that this misery or dishonor imposed upon the people by the exploiters should be submitted to joyfully? Or what would you think of my sincerity if I advised you to acquiesce in your slavery because one fine day all the wealth accumulated and wasted by your oppressors might, thanks to a miracle worked by a fantastic law, become the possession of your great-grandchildren?

But thus stands the case of those gentlemen who preach to you the benefits of the State, without considering its exploiting action in the economy of social life.

VIII.

THE METHODS OF ENGELS'S SCHOOL.

Whatever may be the branch of the economic activity of humanity that one studies, not according to dialectics, but with the aid of induction, the only method of the positive sciences, the logic of the facts and figures gives an absolute denial to that metaphysical aberration which one wished to impose on humanity as a law "which presides at the metamorphosis of nature." To give expression to such enormities could only be the work of men completely destitute of the most elementary notions concerning the laws of the "metamorphosis of nature." Accomplished dialecticians, with the help of their absurd triad, they arrived at a fatalist absurdity.

However, Marx before all was a revolutionist. By that formula he wished to supply an additional argument to the revolutionary Socialists. "Attack energetically this abominable order of capitalist exploitation, which is condemned even by the inevitable laws of progress themselves," said he. During long years it served well for the propaganda. Indeed, it was because of this that nobody among us Anarchists pronounced against his erroneous formula. The cause of the error is dialectic, and not the bad faith of Marx. It is not for me, for instance, a revolutionist, to undertake a campaign against a fundamental base of revolutionary conceptions, above all against a man of the value of Marx.

But with his pretended law there has happened that which Engels wished to express in his metaphysical phraseology in saying that "each phenomenon of nature must become soon or late its own negation." Conceived as the supreme argument of a revolutionary philosophy, this law of concentration has become the fundamental basis of the Social Democrat reaction, and of an anti-human and contra-revolutionary propaganda. The Marxists—for what motive let the reader decide himself—have taken this formula to the letter. They commenced to preach that a supreme law demands that humanity should pass thru three obligatory phases of evolution: primitive individual possession, capitalist possession based upon the expropriation of the peasants and of the artisans, and, lastly, collective possession, result of the law of concentration. No nation, no party can escape this triad of metaphysics. So all the revolutionary Socialists, every man of action, have been treated as stupid dreamers, trying to set aside the laws of social evolution. Their polemics against the heroic revolutionaries of Russia, against Cafiero and Malatesta, against Reclus and Kropotkin, against all the revolutionists and Anarchists, are the proof

of that. The disciples of a revolutionary master have become reactionary; their attacks against these men have surpassed those of the monarchists and Bonapartists.

This reactionary evolution commenced in the time of Marx, and first of all with us in Russia, where the peasants not only are not expropriated, but where they possess the land in community, a pre-historic form of possession, according to Engels. When, from 1874 to 1878, the heroic struggle was carried on by the Russian Socialists in favor of the social enfranchisement of the people, some cowards, calling themselves also Socialists, commenced, basing themselves on the triad and upon the authority of Marx, to carry on a contra-revolutionary propaganda. They said that before acting it was necessary that the Russian people should lose their commune and their land, that they should pass thru a period of ruin and thru the misery which would give occasion to general expropriation.

On learning that in his name people were preaching such monstrosities, Marx declared publicly that the triad in question is not obligatory for every nation, and then later (1882) he proclaimed even that the Russian revolutionaries formed the advance guard of the European social revolution. It was in vain that he protested. He died soon after, and the reactionary cowards, guided and encouraged by Engels, recommenced their miserable work in favor of the ruin of the people* and their attacks upon the Russian revolutionists.**

Not less harmful for the movement has become that other formula of Marx, "every class-struggle is a political struggle," to which his disciples have added, "and in countries with a parliamentary regime, a legal and electoral struggle." The author thought he was giving yet another revolutionary motto to the wage workers, for the entire formula is that "every economic struggle is a class struggle, every class struggle is a political struggle." Little by little his disciples modified the text. If in a formula $a = b$ and $b = c$, it is evident, said they, that a is also equal to c; consequently one can keep, without changing their value, only the first and last members of the formula and read it, "every economic struggle is a political struggle," to which is added that "every political struggle is a legal and parliamentary struggle."

Again Marx protested in his letter to the Congress at Erfurt, but the letter was hidden, and under the old ticket "Revolutionary Socialism" the Social Democrats commenced the propaganda "that every economic struggle is a parliamentary struggle."

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* Struvé, already quoted.

** Plekhanoff.

Old fighter, sincere revolutionist, Marx shook his lion head and repeated indignantly: "If that is Marxism, I am not a Marxist." Yes, he was no Marxist in the present sense.

How has it happened that the second revolutionary formula led also to a reaction? To whom or to what are we to attribute the blame? Always to that cursed dialectics, which, "repulsive, denatures every idea" (Wundt). Accustomed to dialectical speculations, young and little versed in political economy and Socialist literature, Engels and Marx thought that the formula rendered correctly the fundamental idea, the general principle of the Socialists and of modern historians, teaching that *every political struggle, religious or of classes, all political revolutions are at bottom a permanent struggle of economic interests.*

Long before that, the philosophers and the economists (Locke, Adam Smith, etc.), had indicated that the fundamental impulsion of human activity resided in economic interests, in the satisfaction of organic needs; this general idea, under the influence of the events of the great Revolution, took a more correct form of expression. A. Buonarotti tells us that Babœuf and "Les Egaux" ("The Equals"), struck by the misery of the people under the first republic, with its motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," conceived that without economic equality all political rights will remain a dead letter. It is necessary to change the economic conditions in order to better the national life, said the English Socialists in the beginning of this century. It is necessary to organize production, it is necessary to direct things, taught St. Simon. All the struggles of classes and of parties in history based themselves upon economic interests, wrote A. Blanqui in 1825.* Towards 1845 this conception of the revolutionary movement had become general among Socialists and among enlightened people. The logical conclusion drawn from it by the revolutionary Socialists of the time was that henceforth "the purely political class struggle, which changes in no way the economic conditions of the people, must give way to an economic struggle." It was that which Auguste Blanqui expressed so admirably in his proclamation of 1848.

The divergence of the conception is striking, as one sees.

The revolutionary Socialists said, "every political class struggle is at bottom, and must be, economic." Marx and Engels, while keeping the words, have changed their place and proclaimed that "every class struggle is a political struggle." The consequences were not long in appearing.

In England, the Socialists inaugurated the trade unionist and co-operative movements and struggled always on economic ground; they have organized on the basis of economic solidarity millions of workers; they

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* See the preface of his "*Histoire d'économie politique.*"

obtained in 1847 the ten hour day; they gained by strikes innumerable and often colossal a wage much higher than that paid on the continent; they are on the eve of an eight hour day, for in all the public establishments it is already adopted, and their cooperative societies *are ready today even to organize Socialist consumption* for the whole nation.

In France—may I give my opinion, the opinion of a foreigner, upon the rôle which France has played in the Socialist movement? No one would think that I wished to flatter.—The great Revolution, the Revolution of 1848, the Commune, the International*—yes, the International, that "child born in the workshops of Paris and put to nurse in England"; the great thinkers, the courageous publicists, the heroic combatants.

In Germany? The electoral organizations, the reunions presided over by the police, the working day of twelve, thirteen, and often fourteen hours per day; their fatalist doctrines, discipline, and subordination; the ideal of the future with the State monopoly, and "an army of labor especially for agriculture," with a system of qualificative wages. Even their representation in parliament is below that of France, because the French radical Socialists, who are much more advanced than all these Kautskys, Auers, Singers, Liebknechts et al., together with the Socialist deputies, form a group triple that of the German Socialist deputies.

And to think that the "leaders" of this movement without practical result and so far behind in its theories and its Socialist principles, have had the foolish ambition of imposing upon the Socialists of the entire world their dictature! They have had the audacity to pretend in London before the English and French delegates, that Socialism is nothing else than Parliamentarism, that political action signifies only electoral agitation. They have forgotten that parliamentary England and parliamentary France have had revolutions, that non-parliamentary Russia develops a Socialist and revolutionary "action" which arouses the admiration of the Socialist world. They never thought evidently that humanity has had a Blanqui, a Mazzini, a Garibaldi, and a John Brown, and so many others who acted otherwise than in their capacity as electors.

If they had confined themselves to putting forth political and social doctrines, fatalistic, metaphysical, and legal! But they commenced to calumniate men and parties, inductive science and history. They have pushed their impudence to such a point that Liebknecht has put it in print that Anarchists—guillotined, hanged, put to the torture—are friends

* The makers of legends attribute to Marx the initiative of the foundation of the "International" conceived in 1862 by French and English workmen. The International invited, in 1864, Marx, Mazzini, Bakunin, and other refugees to join them. The glory of Marx was in putting himself at its disposition and drawing up its statutes.

of the bourgeoisie; another celebrity of the party who signed sometimes the initials E. M. A. treated Kampfmeyer, Werner, Landauer, and their friends as men sold to the secret police and unworthy of being compared with dogs—the author did not wish to dishonor these noble minals by such a comparison . . . .

The worst of their exploits was that which took place in Russia. During the public manifestations against the tortures practised upon the political prisoners (the affair of Mlle. Vetroff), the Social Democrats put out at Kiev a proclamation *against the manifestation.* They invited the educated people and the scientific workmen not to mix themselves up with the crowd, because the ignorant people could not understand that before acting it was necessary to possess the Social Democratic science. In other words, the people did not understand that in the interests of their own well-being it was necessary that they should lose their land and become a flock of disciplined beggars. A pupil of Engels, named Beltoff, went to such impudence that he dared to treat as "vile and abject," etc., the honest men who defended eighty millions of Russian peasants against the capitalist and the oppressor; and his infamous epithets were addressed so that they could be applied specially to our great martyr Tchernychevsky, whom Marx admired so much and for whom especially he learned Russian.

So many hatreds, so many reactionary pretensions, so many Socialist and scientific twistings and dissemblings, whence come they? As I have tried to show, it was Engels who maintained them; but the germs of all these venomous plants are to be found also in the works of the master.

COMMUNISM

The Red and Black, as an anarchist journal is anti-authoritarian and, therefore, by virtue of it, is anti-communist but in a positive way. It is useless to use mystified dialectical language to justify slavery, Spartanization and militarization of society as communism. Perhaps our commuism is an ideal rather than a reality, but it is better than a Platonic idealism refered to as Marxism with its hierarchical ladder of values. Here is an excerpt on communism from L'insecurite Social, no 2.

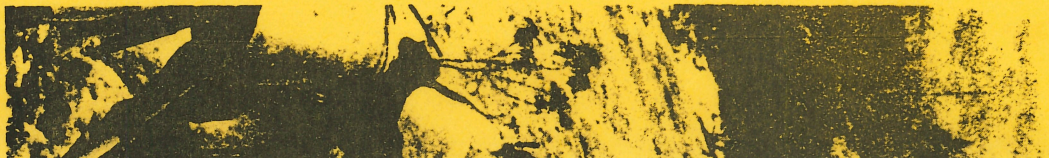
Even if for many people the term "communism" evokes a sad reality, it is after all easier to percieve a transition from one system of exploitation to another, than to percieve a system which abolishes exploitation. It is absurd to sustain that the long entanglement of communism with capitalism will consolidate the former at the expense of the latter. It is this absurdity that various "socialismes" try to realize, an ill defined mode of production, the social relations of which have never shown unless it is the replacement of private by state property and of the "anarchy" of the market by planning -all duplicating and preserv ing the bases of capitalism -wages and goods.

Communism, as we understand it, is after all the tendency of the human community which under various forms by which it expresses itself, has always been the quest for a world where neither law nor property, nor state, nor discrimination which separates, nor richness which distinguishes, nor power whih oppresses exists.

Communism in not a policy. It is not a programme to be opposed to other programmes and to be made to triumph by the force of its own argumentation or by the violence of its weapons. Those who appeal to communism do not earnestly desire to conquer the state and to substitute their just and reasonable power for that of the bourgeoisie -injust and wicked. The triumph of this kind of policy, of the state, is not our aim. The capitalist class has alredy realized this under our very eyes. The state is not after all ministries and presidential palaces but an exercise of power politics by a section of society over the rest of it. Beyond different forms of power organization, the intensity of the oppression one is subjected to, politics is the social division of dominators and dominated, and the division of men into masters of power and subjects of power The communist revolution if it comes will be the ovethrow and not the outcome of this tendency. Thus the notions of democracy and dictatorship, referring to the juridicial forms of state power as it was formalized by the philosophy of the enlightement would cease to be adequate. Dictatorship as well as democracy comes from the exigence to maintain

social cohesion, be it by coercion or idealization in a society where the movement itself breaks the traditional and personal ties between groups and individuals. Communism, on the other side, represents the manifestations of other relationships -of human community. The communist revolution cannot be from the beginning but the founding act of this community. To believe that one has to organize despotically or democratically a fictitious community is to base this community from its very beginning on the negation of its own dynamics. All contortions will change nothing: the hymns to Politics, the cult of the State are neither communism nor a detour that may lead to it.

Communism is no longer a kind of economic organization or a new distribution of property. The communist community will not establish the "common" property because the concept of property implies storing, , the possession of some at the detriment of the others, The circulation of goods cannot be effected in such a society according to a model of exchange: such goods as against such others. A society where nobody is excluded has to ignore the exchange, buying and selling, that is -money. There is collective or personal usage of what the community has produced The logic of sharing replaces the logic of exchange. Human being associate themselves to accomplish such and such action, share such pleasure or such emotion, or to answer to such and such need of community, without that those associations become at their turn the State, that is, domination of certain people over the others or formation of enterprises which hire the wage earners or prices their production. One cannot, therefore, talk of such a society's "economic" laws, laws which are, today, expression of the domination of market relations.

With the abolition of the State, of money, commodities, there will be a conscious control of the human being over their own activities through relations and interactions existing among them, and among them and the rest of nature. Communism will be a society where the main wealth resides in human relationships; where all human beings have the possibility to really will what theyt make, the time and space where they live depends on them. This implies free association amongst women, men, children, above the role of ependency and reciprocal submissiveness. The understanding that scarcity and misery do not depend on a feeble accumulation of means, things and objects, but come from a social organization based on the monopoly some people have at the expense of others.

Red and Black